

and marry a white woman, to be a double slave to her, just because she is *white*, ought to be treated by her as he surely will be, viz: as a NIGER!! It is not, indeed, what I care about intermarriages with the whites, which induced me to pass this subject in review; for the Lord knows that there is a day coming when they will be glad enough to get into the company of the blacks, notwithstanding we are, in this generation, levelled by them, almost on a level with the brute creation; and some of us they treat even worse than they do the brutes that perish.'

It is not my purpose to discuss the propriety of intermarriages between the two races here. I bring in the paragraph merely to shew the spirit in which our black apostle wrote. He tells us that he would not 'give a pinch of snuff' for any white woman living, but revolts at the prohibitory law, conceiving it to be a manifesto of the supposed inferiority of his people. This is a proper view of the subject, nor does the pride manifested in his language lower him in my esteem.

Walker next, in speaking of the condition of the free blacks, affirms, that they are, one and all, the prey of white rogues, who are constantly defrauding them. As an illustration of his position he says, that when a negro dies possessed of property (a rare case,) it usually falls into the hands of some white, to the detriment of the natural heirs. Having very little acquaintance with the blacks, I am unable to say how far his assertion is true; you, Mr Garrison, probably know. Granting the fact to be as Walker states it, I do not think the case of his compeers peculiar: the weak are ever and must be, to a considerable extent, the prey of the strong; those who think, have and will always prevail over those who merely work. It seems to me that the wrongs of which Walker complains must be attributed not to the color of his people, but to their ignorance. His next complaint relates to the common opinion that the negro is a distinct genus, inferior to the human race, and nearly allied to the *simia* species. Walker, in my opinion very justly, thinks this an insupportable insult, and speaks of it with the utmost indignation. Without entering into a discussion of the opinion, first broached, I believe, by Mr Jefferson, I would only say, that I think it calculated to embitter the feelings of the blacks toward us, and it may one day be, that every drop of ink wasted in its support will cost a drop of human blood.

Walker next speaks in bitter terms of such blacks as, by giving information, &c., aid the whites to keep their brethren in subjection, and thinks that but for their hindrance the slaves would ere this have been free. Here, I think, he is mistaken: it is not treason but ignorance that rivets their chains. The law makers of some of the slave states have done wisely (in some points of view) in making it highly penal to teach a slave to read. If things are to remain as they are, it is sound policy; that is, supposing it practicable to enforce such laws. Yet I think they will only put off, not prevent the catastrophe. A few years since, being in a slave state, I chanced one morning, very early, to look through the curtains of my chamber window, which opened upon a back yard. I saw a mulatto with a newspaper in his hand, surrounded by a score of colored men, who were listening, open mouthed, to a very inflammatory article the yellow man was reading. Sometimes the reader dwelt emphatically on particular passages, and I could see his auditors stamp and clench their hands. I afterwards learned that the paper was published in New-York, and addressed to the blacks. It is but reasonable to suppose that such scenes are of common occurrence in the slave states, and it does not require the wisdom of Solomon to discern their tendency.

The following paragraph appears to me to contain the gist of Walker's argument, and to explain his motive for publishing his book:

'Remember that unless you are united, keeping your tongues within your teeth, you will be afraid to trust your secrets to each other, and thus perpetuate our miseries under the *Christians*!! Remember, also, to lay humble at the feet of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, with prayers and fastings. Let our enemies go on with their butcheries, and at once fill up their cup. Never make an attempt to gain our freedom or *natural right*, from under our cruel oppressors and murderers, until you see your way

clear—when that hour arrives and you move, be not afraid or dismayed; for be you assured that Jesus Christ the King of heaven and of earth, who is the God of justice and of armies, will surely go before you. And those enemies who have for hundreds of years stolen our *rights*, and kept us ignorant of Him and His divine worship, He will remove. Millions of whom are, this day, so ignorant and avaricious, that they cannot conceive how God can have an attribute of justice, and show mercy to us because it pleased him to make us black—which color Mr Jefferson calls unfortunate!! It is not to be understood here, that I mean for us to wait until God shall take us by the hair of our heads and drag us out of abject wretchedness and slavery, nor I do mean to convey the idea for us to wait until our enemies shall make preparations, and call us to seize those preparations, take it away from them, and put every thing before us to death, in order to gain our freedom which God has given us. For you must remember that we are men as well as they. God has been pleased to give us two eyes, two hands, two feet, and some sense in our heads as well as they. They have no more right to hold us in slavery than we have to hold them; we have just as much right, in the sight of God, to hold them and their children in slavery and wretchedness, as they have to hold us, and no more.'

Here then is a clear, undeniable exhortation to insurrection. The facts stated by Walker as incentives, are *facts*, not suppositions, and in my opinion, his inferences are just. The question is, whether such language can conscientiously be held by a white man, having a clear view of its result, to a black. 'Grant your opinions to be just,' a slave owner once said to me, 'if you talk so to the slaves, they will fall to cutting their masters' throats.' 'And in God's name,' I replied, 'why should they not cut their masters' throats?' I am, however, no preacher of reform. If the blacks can come to a sense of their wrongs, and a resolution to redress them, through their own instrumentality or that of others, I shall rejoice. They are my fellow creatures and countrymen as well as their masters. It would indeed grieve me to hear that one of my southern brethren had died by the hands of his slaves: it is still more grievous to think that he holds a score of my black brethren in degrading thralldom. Of two evils I prefer the least, and it is better that one man should lose his life than that a score should lose their liberty. Yet I do not conceive it my duty, nor have I any vocation to set myself up as a redresser of wrongs, or an oculist for the mentally blind. For those good men who think otherwise, who seek the greater good of the greater number, to their own danger and prejudice, I respect and esteem, but cannot imitate them. When, as in the present instance, my opinion is asked, it shall be freely given, but I do not think myself bound to advance it unasked.

Walker then speaks of the advertisements of slaves to be sold, runaways, &c., so constantly found in the southern papers. He speaks of husbands torn from their wives, babes from their mothers, and remarks that in the same columns the Mussulmans are reprov'd for their barbarity to the Greeks. I have often seen such inconsistencies as he mentions, but they are too melancholy to evoke a smile. The Greeks in the Ottoman empire pay tribute and are subject to vexatious exactions, but they are not slaves, unless taken in rebellion. Even then they recover their freedom at the end of seven years. The severities inflicted on them by their Mahometan lords are cakes and gingerbread in comparison with those practised by Christian masters on their slaves. But our slaves are black, and that, it seems, destroys their claim to sympathy. Strange that the dark pigment, which is its coloring matter, should render a negro's skin as callous as the shell of a lobster, and infect the veins of his very heart so as to render him incapable of social affections. I suppose this must be a common opinion of the slave owners, or we should hear less of the abominations of which Walker speaks. To be serious, I would advise southern editors to exclude the advertisements above mentioned and their accompanying engravings from their papers, lest some of them should find their way to Europe and prove our declaration of independence hypocritical.

'The man who would not fight under our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, in the glorious and heavenly cause of freedom and of God—to be delivered from the most wretched, abject and servile slavery that ever a people was afflicted with since the foun-

dation of the world to the present day—ought to be kept, with all his children or family, in slavery, or in chains, to be butchered by his *cruel enemies*.'

Well done, David Walker! I like your spirit, for it will work out the salvation of your brethren. Verily, David Walker was a *man*! Then follows a comparison of the slavery of other lands with our own, and an examination of Mr Jefferson's opinion. Next comes much declamation and a sweeping denunciation of the whites as 'unjust, jealous, unmerciful, avaricious and blood-thirsty beings.' Surely a black has a right to think so. Thus ends the first of the four articles into which the 'Appeal' is divided. As a specimen of Walker's style, when he betakes himself to declamation, I beg you to print the following:

'Are we men!—I ask you, O my brethren! are we MEN? Did our Creator make us to be slaves to dust and ashes like ourselves? Are they not dying worms as well as we? Have they not to make their appearance before the tribunal of Heaven, to answer for the deeds done in the body, as well as we? Have we any other Master but Jesus Christ alone? Is he not their master as well as ours?—What right then, have we to obey and call any other Master, but Himself? How we could be so *submissive* to a gang of men, whom we cannot tell whether they are *as good* as ourselves or not, I never could conceive. However this is shut up with the Lord, and we cannot precisely tell—but I declare, we judge men by their works.'

Here let us pause and reflect. What is to be the end of the American system of oppression? Will it, can it last for ever? And if it does not, how is it to be terminated—by the consent of the whites, or by the hands of the blacks? The question involves no less than the fate of all that portion of our country which lies south of the Potomac. Three ways occur to me by which the slaves may possibly be emancipated without bloodshed, viz. by colonizing them elsewhere, by gradual abolition, or by free labor becoming more profitable than that of thralls. I will, if you wish it, consider these things in another place, not here. As to the prospect of their liberation by some means or other, I consider it certain. There are now about as many colored persons within the limits of the union as there were whites at the commencement of our revolution, and it seems to me impossible that they can be prevented from discovering their wrongs. All the laws that can be made cannot wholly exclude the rudiments of learning from among them. The name of Walker alone is a terror to the south, and it is probable there are or will be more men like him. Negroes have showed their mental capacity in St Domingo, where, thirty-two years ago, they were as much or more debased than they now are in the United States. That example of bloodshed and misery is before the eyes of our slaves; that tragedy, it seems to me, will soon be enacted on an American stage, with new scenery, unless something is speedily done to prevent it. The actors are studying their parts, and there will be more such prompters as Walker. At present, they only want a manager. I fear, very much fear, that the retribution predicted in the book in question is at hand. It is a hard case for the south to be sure. The southern planter has not himself instituted the present state of affairs: it came down from his fathers. It is hard for him to give up his inheritance, and still harder to overcome the habits in which he was bred. Even the immediate emancipation of his slaves, and the restoration of their natural rights, would, perhaps, produce much evil. It will be harder for his children to see this change brought about by the red hand. But—when the slaves shall have attained even the limited degree of knowledge possessed by the free blacks, if they do not rise and strike for freedom, if they do not settle the account that has been scored for two centuries, Mr Jefferson will have been proved to be right in his opinion. When they shall no longer have the excuse of ignorance, and shall not avail themselves of their strength, they will indeed be proved to be baboons, unworthy of the name or privileges of men. It is astonishing, Mr Garrison, to hear some of the free and intelligent sons of New-England speak on this subject. A lawyer, of no mean attainments, said, a few days ago, in my presence, that the slaves in the south are well enough; that their condition is

For the Liberator.

### WALKER'S APPEAL. NO. 2.

in commenting on a work like this, so pregnant with interest, so full of matter of mighty import, there is, no doubt, wherewith to extend my remarks far beyond the limits of a newspaper. I find so much, sir, worthy of attention, that I must say, before proceeding farther, that I shall be obliged to skip many points I would gladly dwell upon, and confine myself to the more prominent features of the book. In continuation of the remarks with which my last letter concluded, I will quote one of Walker's periods:

'Do they not institute laws to prohibit us from marrying among the whites? I would wish, candidly, however, before the Lord, to be understood, that I would not give a *pinch of snuff* to be married to any white person I ever saw in all the days of my life. And I do say it, that the black man, or man of color, who who will leave his own color (provided he can get one who is good for anything)

preferable to that of the poor whites here ; and, in short, that they were happy. I have often heard similar opinions expressed. They are indeed contented, and so is a horse or an ox, and for the same reason. It is the happiness of a brute—not of a man. If to eat, drink and sleep, without a thought of the past or future, constitutes earthly felicity, then are slaves happy indeed, and their condition cannot be bettered. Even then they are not quite so happy as a horse, for they feel the whip more sensibly. Ask any white who expatiates on this happiness, if he would, if he could, get rid of his cares and perplexities by changing conditions with a slave. No ; but the slaves are black, and that argument oversets all the rules of logic—it is unanswerable. V.